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MARCH 6 AND AFTER

London Naval Debacle

The collapse of the London Naval Conference, coming on the heels of the fall of the French cabinet, bears out all contentions of the impossibility of the imperialists even to pretend at limitation of armaments. The attempt to mask itself as an apostle of peace for the world was a farce; the conference was made up purely of the leading imperialist powers — to the exclusion of all others. The issue of parity strength proved to be not one of reduction, but, on the contrary, one of increased construction of naval armaments.

We have all along pointed out the impossibility of the capitalist powers to attempt to solve and patch up their differences through conferences and negotiations. We said further that the London conference was actually a session of the leading capitalist powers, jockeying for advantages in the world political arena, and preparing their allies in preparation of an impending conflict. Furthermore, it was obvious from the outset that one of the main objectives of the conference would be to lay the plans for an alliance of the powers against the Soviet Union. In the beginning, it was clear that nothing could be achieved in the way of diminishing construction and reduction of armaments, and that the conference would reach a blind alley in a short while.

These views have been substantiated. For over two weeks, the conference has lapsed. The pacifists and the Conference attempt to lay the blame for this on the collapse of the French cabinet. While this is a factor, it does not eliminate the fact that the whole conference was leading to a point where its further deliberations would be checked.

Issues at the Conference

At the beginning of the conference, the following conditions were the basis for the negotiations: The parity ratio between the United States and England. The demand for increased parity on the part of Japan from the original proposal of 5-5-3 to 10-10-7. The demand of France for a tonnage of 724,000 tons, and Italy's position calling for parity with France. This presented the curious picture of a disarmament conference with a program of increased naval construction.

The various issues during the first month of the conference whether or not battleships should be expunged from naval service, whether submarines were "humane instruments" during war, etc., were only confusing and played their part in delaying the discussion of disarmament. They allowed for time so that the various powers could obtain information on their opponents' strength.

The real obstacle remains unsolved — what shall be the naval ratios of the participants? On this there is unanimous disagreement. While United States and England apparently agree to parity the remaining countries continue to disagree unless their commands are granted. France, which today has taken the place of pre-war Germany as the outstanding militarized nation, insists that her "freedom and interests" demand a naval tonnage of 725,000 tons, to be built for the most part by 1936. This means that France, in a short period, would have one of the largest and most modern navies in the world. Netither the United States, England, nor Japan agree to this. Japan on the other hand refuses, on the basis that she is an "island nation", to reduce her tonnage, and Italy continues to insist on parity with France, to allow protection of her interests in the Mediterranean Sea. Both France and Japan refuse to liquidate their submarine fleets, which are the backbone of their smaller naval strength against both the United States and England. The above was the condition prior to the opening of the conference, and on which the conference today has lapsed because of its failure to even make initial progress.

Each of the naval powers demand "security" and are willing (!) for reduction if the other begins it. That no progress

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Gold and God United Against Soviets

"Church of Wall St. Shows $1,462,340 Income Last Year. Trinity reports $15,000,000 Realty.—Assets $16,923,956."

With these headlines the Wall St. **Journal** introduces a story on the increasing capital owned by Trinity Church Corp., of New York. The Episcopal Church of which Wm. T. Manning, now bishop of New York was formerly rector, is the wealthiest single parish in America. But other organizations in this denomination and in other churches boast of investments, steadily increasing in amount rolling up into millions of dollars. The $17,000,000 of Trinity parish is only a small fraction of the total.

So when Bishop Manning called upon all religious bodies to join in a day of prayer as a protest against Soviet policy, the Friends of the Soviet Union arranged for the same date a demonstration "against the capitalist preparations for war on the Soviet Union under the guise of a religious campaign." The crusade of the churches against Soviet Russia, according to the friends of the workers' government, is a capitalist crusade against a socialist republic. The pope and Bishop Manning, leading the crusade, not only represent two of the richest religious bodies in the world, but also represent propertied interests—J. P. Morgan, Wall St. and organized capital, the critics say.

That American property holdings of the churches have vastly increased in recent years is revealed by the latest U. S. census figures on religious bodies. Church buildings are now valued at $3,842, 500,000 as compared with $1,676,600,000 in 1916. These billions pay no taxes.

More than 50 denominations reported property valued at over $1,000,000,000. Six

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The unemployment demonstrations on March 6th which, particularly in New York, Detroit and other industrial centers, assumed huge proportions, have proved in irrefutable language that unemployment is a living issue in the United States. They smashed the conspiracy of the ruling class to deny or minimize the unemployment crisis and sent them scurrying for measures of amelioration and fear of the coming storm. They proved that issues which directly affect the life interests of the masses are the ones which rouse them. The demonstrations compelled reformists of the socialist party and a section of the trade union movement who up till now have done little but echo the Hoover pronouncements, to come forward with independent proposals in an attempt to take over the leadership of the unemployed masses.

On the other side, the March 6th unemployment demonstrations were the signal for unloosing an unprecedented police brutality against the workers; a new wave of incitement by the capitalist press against the Communist organizers of the movement; an attempt to bury the issue of unemployment under a "Red Scare"; and an attempt to frame up the arrested leaders—in short a general offensive of the ruling class and the government designed to lay the basis for again outlawing the Communist movement. The New York capitalist papers, including the pseudo-liberal **Telegram,** are crying with one voice for the rigorous prosecution of the arrested Communists, who insisted that the right to parade the streets, always enjoyed without question by reactionary elements, should be taken for one day by the workers. The unemployment movement, which on March 6th marked a rise in the militancy of the masses, remains a defensive movement in the face of a continuing and intensified capitalist offensive.

Haitians Demand End of Wall St. Rule

WASHINGTON—In a public statement on the history of the so-called American treaty with Haiti, which never was ratified when secretly negotiated in 1917, the Patriotic Union of Haiti demands that American imperialism shall get out of Haiti and rid the country of military occupation.

"We denounce the Act of 1917," says the Union. "We protest its invocation before the civilized world, before the Congress of the United States, before the Investigating Committee, before President Hoover..."

"To critics who might add 'revolution', we say: "Let it not be a repetition of the Aux Cayes affair, where innocent men, women and children were slaughtered by United States marines."

Hoover has been in office now one year, but military rule in Haiti remains as before. The masses of Haiti are just as determined in their demand for freedom from the economic, political and military bondage of U. S. imperialism. The Hoover Committee "investigates" and of course does nothing. The Haitian masses continue to protest the American occupation through demonstrations and other measures

The March 6th demonstrations which brought a period of preliminary agitation to a point, represent a beginning in the work of organizing the defensive struggle of the masses on issues which go to the very heart of their daily lives. It is necessary now to arrive at a realistic estimation of the actual strength of the unemployment movement, and the influence of the Communists upon it, in preparation for the next stages of the struggle. The spectacular demonstrations, magnificent as they were in many respects, are not, standing by themselves, alone a sufficient guide for this estimation. Scarehead newspaper publicity concentrated public attention on these events in such a way as to insure a big attendance in any case.

The question of how many were demonstrators, how many passive sympathizers, and how many merely curious spectators, cannot be easily answered. It is self-evident that enormous numbers belonged to the latter two categories. To classify all who appeared at the demonstrations as real participants in the movement for relief of the unemployed would be an obvious mistake on which profound illusions would be based. Subsequent stages of development and the various forms it will necessarily take, will provide the criteria for measuring the extent of the actual movement.

This development must now take the form of organizing the forces set into motion, of consolidating and extending their strength. The success of this work depends on the further course of the economic situation in the first place, and on the tactics of the Communists in the second. These questions stand in the center of the revolutionary task.

Unemployment—a Permanent Phenomenon

Unemployment has become a permanent phenomenon of American capitalism. Even such a cautious economic writer as Stuart Chase estimated 3,000,000 unemployed at the height of the Hoover prosperity in 1929. While exact figures on the present situation are not obtainable, there is plenty of ground for the assumption that the figure today stands at twice that number. This is a powerful force undermining the structure of American capitalism. Moreover the effect of unemployment on the workers is cumulative. As the savings and credits of the unemployed workers are exhausted and other resources and devices are used up, they become faced more and more with the stark problem of subsistence. Neither police clubs nor prosperity propaganda con do away with it. It is true that American capitalism has enormous resources at its disposal—a fact which must not be forgotten. These resources give a possibility—if they are fully extended—of ameliorating some of the most acute phases of unemployment, but they cannot reach the essential problem. Unemployment is a permanent cancer gnawing at the vitals of American capitalism.

The ensuing period will give the possibility of guaging the strength and tempo of the movement and of organizing it accordingly. The series of protest meetings against the arrests and police brutal-

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Amalgamate Engineers and Firemen

The course of events is gradually teaching Locomotive Engineers and Firemen the necessity and importance of uniting in one organization, as a preliminary step in the process of amalgamating the present helpless and expensive Railroad Crafts—21 in number—into one union in the Railroad Transportation Industry.

The interests of the locomotive engineers and firemen are identical. Practically every hardship, every difficulty, has to be borne and suffered alike by the two men in the locomotive cab. Poor coal and equipment, heavy trains, added duties without additional pay, poor working conditions and the many known and unknwn hardships and dangers of the rail, such as snowdrifts, washouts and defective track, are all mutual problems of both men in the cab.

The old argument of the Grand Lodge Officials that the craft form of organization is the best kind of organization to look after the interests of the membership, no longer holds good, because neither the B. of L. E. or the B. of L. F. & E. are any longer craft organizations Since its Milwaukee convention in 1906, when the "E" was added to the Firemen's name, the B. of L. F. & E. officials have kept organizers in the field to retain its Engineer members. On the other hand, the B. of L. E. officials have maintained organizers to pull firemen out of the Firemen's organization, as soon as they had passed the examination for engineer. This in spite of the fact that such firemen will have to fire a locomotive for years after they have been examined for engineer. So the B. of L. E. will take all the firemen they can get so soon as they have passed the engineer's examination and the B. of L. F. &. E. is fighting to retain as many of its engineer members as it can.

From the foregoing, then, it can clearly be seen that if there ever were any reasons for two organizations in the locomotive cab, there are no such reasons now.

Bureaucrats Hinder Progress

There is just one thing that keeps us apart now, and that is the high salaried official bureaucrats who control both organizations. In spite of what pressure the rank and file is putting on these officials to amalgamate, they always find some foolish and worthless excuse for not doing it.

As long as the two Enginemen Brotherhoods are controlled by swarms of office holders who draw from $7,000 to $15,000 a year, plus a most liberal expense account, it is going to be hard to unite the men in the cab. For years these officials have been busy intrenching themselves in office. They have secured a strangle-hold on the Brotherhood press, such as the Journals and Labor, the railroad weekly. They have gag-laws, like section 84 of the Engineers' Constiitution, enacted to stifle all expression by other means. Then we have the notorious "obligation" which constitutes another safeguard for the officials. Every time a working member advocates something to which the bureaucrats are opposed, if they cannot find a law to hang on him, then they will contend that he violated his obligation and out he goes via the expulsion route. But no matter what the officials do, obligations and gag-laws never affect them.

Ridding the two Enginemen's Brotherhoods of excessive salaries, foolish obligations, gaglaws and secret work will go a long way toward clearing the track for the amalgamation of the Engineers and Firemen.

The coming convention of the Engineers, which convenes in Cleveland on the first Monday in June, can do a whole lot toward amalgamation by appointing a rank and file committee consisting of engineers who are known to favor amalgamation and provide this committee with means and full power to prosecute the question of amalgamation to its final conclusion.

The Brotherhood press, circulars and other printed matter, should be employed in the campaign for amalgamation of the Engineers and Firemen and other needed reforms within these two organizations.

—C. R. HEDLUND

Gold and God United

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leading church bodies reported immensely increased value of buildings, as follows:

Protestant Episcopal

Church	Value of Church Buildings 1926	1916
Roman Catholic	$837,271,053	$669,746,780
Methodist Epis.	406,165,659	274,162,895
Presbyterian		
Church in U.S.	338,152,743	275,821,868
Protest. Epis.	314,596,738	277,875,539
No. Baptist	185,370,576	154,894,435
Congregational	164,212,552	82,036,763

But church buildings tell only part of the story. Endowments of church organizations, excluding local churches, are estimated at totalling at least $575,000,000 and probably much more. Most of the church missionary societies have large trust funds. The Protestant Episcopal church missionary society reports over $9,000,000; the Presbyterian home and foreign boards about .8,000,000; the Baptist foreign missionary society over $7,000,000; and the Methodist home and foreign boards over $8,000,300.

The church pension fund of the Protestant Episcopal church, with J. P. Morgan as treasurer and chairman of its finance committee, now totals over $25,500,000. It started in 1917 with less than a third of that amount. The fund is invested in the leading railroad and industrial corporations in the United States—including the Sante Fe, Baltimore and Ohio, New York Central, Pennsylvania, American Telephone and Telegraph, American Radiator, General Motors, International Mach Corp., Standard Oil and U. S. Steel. Practically all have anti-union labor policies, and most of them have broken strikes with gunmen, spies and state and private police.

Other endowment funds of other church organizations now enlisted in the anti-Soviet campaign, are similarly invested in railroad bonds, telephone and telegraph bonds municipal state and government bonds. Investments of the churches also include notes secured by real etate, mortages and trust deeds.

NORTHWESTERN SHUTS DOWN ROUNDHOUSE

CLINTON, Ia.—The Northwestern railroad has shut down permanently its East Clinton roundhouse, throwing the employees out of works because the use of larger locomotives makes it unnecessary to service them at this point because of longer runs.

BALDWIN LOCOMOTIVE LAYS OFF 1,200

CHESTER, Pa.—(FP)—Baldwin Locomotive works has laid off 1,200 workers. Few factories are operating full time in this important industrial suburb of Philadelphia.

LABOR PARTY IN KENOSHA

KENOSHA—(FP)Continued life for the Kenosha Labor Party, born of the Allen-A hosiery strike, is assured by action of a conference of Kenosha county laborites, which recently met and organized the party on a permanent basis. Representatives of trade unions throughout the county attended the meet and laid plans for a vigorous campaign in April, when municipal elections come around.

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MARCH 6TH AND AFTER

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ity will provide, by the attendance at them, one means of ascertaining to what extent the attendance at the open demonstrations was sympathetic and conscious. The attidue of the masses toward the prosecution of the leaders, attendance at meetings, responsiveness to appeals, the circulation of the Communist press, etc., in the coming period will be reliable indicators of the depth and consciousness of the movement. All these factors will have to be noted carefully as a basis for further steps.

The Failure of the "General Strike"

Counter-balancing the apparent response to the demonstrations was the total failure of the call for a general strike, issued by the Communist Party. This call fell flat everywere and its failure is an ominous proof of the fantastic over-estimation of the movement entertained by the Party leadership, and the falsity of the tactics which flowed from this over-estimation. It is impossible to play with calls for a general strike without discrediting this slogan and those who lightly proclaim it. The general situation gave no ground for such a slogan in connection with March 6th, and it was particularly wrong for the Party to issue it, like a casual phrase, when it has been losing one trade union position after another, and thus losing the possibility to give this slogan life even on a partial scale: Needle Trades, Miners, Boot and Shoe Workers, etc. Every failure to make good with a strike call has the effect of still further weakening the trade union position of the Left wing. This is the inevitable penalty of careless phrase-mongering with great slogans.

A continuance of this policy, after the events of March 6th have clearly revealed its unmistakable falsity, prepares the ground for disastrous defeats and a possible loss of those gains actually realized. This, unfortunately, appears to be the line of the Party leadership. Blinded by the spectacular, and more or less external, aspects of the demonstrations, and overlooking these fundamental factors, they are proceeding with the call to **"prepare the political mass strike"**. Thereby they again misjudge the strength and tempo and consciousness of the movement and open the door for colossal blunders which will facilitate reaction. The capitalists and their reformist agents will be the ultimate gainers from this irresponsible and wholly unfounded perspective of the present movement.

The Reformists Step In

The action of the reformist socialists and sections of the trade union bureaucracy in setting up "An Emergency Conference for Unemployment" on the heels of the March 6th demonstrations is a significant event. On the one hand it is a tribute to the great working class action set in motion under the leadership of the Communists; on the other hand it is an obvious attempt to seize the leadership of this movement in order to strangle it. This represents an important danger to the movement in which the Communists up till now have had a virtual monopoly. The outcome of this attempt, and others of a similar nature which are bound to ensue, depends also to a large extent on the tactics of the revolutionaries. Mere denunciation will not be sufficient to cope successfully with such flank attacks.

Now is the time for the Communists to come forward with united front proposals which, if properly applied, will serve the double purpose of consolidating and broadening the movement of the unemployed and of defeating the aims of the reformists. The failure to utilize united front tactics up to now has been a big mistake which paved the way for this maneuver of the socialists and labor fakers and gives it a certain possibility of success.

The United Front Tactics

The right step now is for the Communists to put concrete proposals for common action in behalf of the unemployed to all labor organizations. Such proposals should be put directly to this so-called Relief" in order to call their bluff. The demands should be few and simple, directly to the issue, and centering around a militant fight for work or compensation for the unemployed workers. This includes of course a demand for united defense of those arrested in connection with the demonstrations on March 6th. It is incorrect in this connection as it is incorrect in general at the present stage of development, to bury the essential concrete and living demands, which really move the workers, under a long list of so-called "political" demands which the workers do not understand and are not prepared to fight for. The challenge to the officials of all labor organizations to join in a united fight for the interests of the unemployed will create the best conditions for effective agitation for the issues in the ranks of these organizations—a work sadly neglected if not actually ignored, up till now. By these means the base of the movement can be broadened and the revolutionary influence extended.

Unite the Left Wing Forces

Above all, in the face of the growing reactionary offensive and the worsening conditions of the workers it is necessary to unite the Communist and Left wing forces for common action. This is the prerequisite for the mobilization of the workers in defense of their interests around the revolutionary standard. This common action of the Communists and Left wing forces has been blocked and sabatoged by the official leadership of the Party, and the working class movement has been thereby weakened. The attacks, slanders and misrepresentation against the Communist Opposition, the attempts to exclude them even from participation in the actions of the Left wing, are blows against the working class. They help to disarm and disorganize the unemployment movement as well as all other working class movements in the face of a growing unity and aggressiveness of reactionary forces..

We speak now as before for the unity of the Communists and the Left wing forces in a common fight for working class interests, and we appeal to the workers in the ranks of the Party and Left wing to compel a course in this direction.

MINERS NOT CONSULTED IN DRAWING UP AGGREEMENT

WILKES-BARRE, Pa.—(FP)—Anthracite coal diggers will have nothing to say in the framing of the new agreement to replace the 5-year contract expiring Aug. 31. This is the word brought back from Indianapolis by international board members of the United Mine Workers, following the union's board meeting.

The tri-district convention of anthracite miners, usually held before the expiration of agreements in order to lay down demands for the new contract, will not be called, Int'l Pres. John L. Lewis has decided. Instead the miners will be summoned into session after the agreement has been negotiated by Lewis and the operators. Faced with an accomplished fact, they are expected to put their approval on a contract which will merely extend the existing document.

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The Paris Commune and the Proletarian Revolution

By MAURICE SPECTOR

".. the Franco-German War was the bloody prelude of the great world-holocaust...The French Commune was the lightning-like prophecy of the proletarian world revolution."

—L. D. Trotsky

Out of the last of the great national struggles of a western bourgeoisie for capitalist state unification sprang the first attempt of the modern working class to conquer political power.

Regardless of Bismark's diplomatic machinations and provocations, the Franco-Prussian struggle of 1870 was for Germany a war of national self-defence. The task of national unification which the middle and working classes had failed to solve in 1848 by revolutionary democratic means, history passed on to Bismark to achieve by means of Blood and Iron. The empire of Napoleon III, Marx considered "the only possible form of government in the epoch in which the bourgeoisie has already lost the power of governing the people while the working class has not yet acquired it". The war, he predicted, " would ring the death knell of the Second Empire; it will end as it began —in a parody". The little Napoleon could only maintain his regime on the basis of the continued feudal particularism and dismemberment of Germany.

The course of the war swiftly revealed the entire rotteness of the Empire. The French armies were outgeneralled and outnumbered; the military demoralization was the measure of the general state of political decay. Sedan was the logical culmination of a series of disastrous adventures in the Crimea, in Italy and Mexico.

On September 4th, the French bourgeoisie hastened to proclaim the Third Republic and to set up a "Government of National Defence". The war now entered on its second phase, the four months siege of Paris. It now ceased to be a war of national defence for the Germans, a "war not against the French people but the French emperor", and had definitely become the instrument of aggression, the "Prussian military camarilla" whom Marx, on behalf of the International, unreservedly denounced, warning that "the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine would drive France into the arms of Prussia." Paris capitulated on January 28, 1871. The National Assembly with its reactionary monarchist majority authorized Thiers to conclude peace with Bismark by the cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the agreement to an indemnity of five billion francs.

The War and the Misery of the Workers

As usual, the masses had borne the brunt of the suffering and calamity of war; this peace now provoked their deepest resentment as savoring of national betrayal. While the big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the speculators and manufacturers had enriched themselves, the petty bourgeois artisans, peasants and shop-keepers had been ruined and the worker suffered from widespread unemployment. The bourgeois government was aware of the ferment among the people and proceeded to re-establish "law and order" by characteristic means. It pitilessly cancelled the moratorium on rents and other debts, thereby increasing the wholesale misery of the masses: but their cup was full to overflowing, when Thiers attempted to disarm the National Guard, that is to say, the 200,000 armed proletarians. The discontent of the masses broke out into open revolt and on March 18th, the Commune was proclaimed by the Central Committee of the National Guard which constituted itself as the Provisional Government until regular elections could be organized. Thiers and his ministers unfortunately were allowed to remove themselves with impunity to the reactionary Assembly with its headquarters in Versailles.

"France," wrote Engels, "is a country in which the historical struggle of the classes, more than in any other was carried each time to a decisive conclusion..." In the veins of the Parisian masses flowed the tradition of the Commune of 1792-4, of the revolutions of July, 1830 and 1848. Paris was now the scene of the first independent proletarian struggle for power, and Versailles the armed camp of the bourgeois coalition supported by Bismark who returned 100,000 French prisoners to help Thiers crush the Commune. The proletarians of a number of other cities (Marseilles, Lyons, etc.) also proclaimed Communes but were smashed by the bourgeoisie before they could render assistance to Paris, which remained isolated.

The Proletariat Struggles for Power

The Commune lasted for seventy-two days, from March 18 to May 29, 1871. The Central Committee of the National Guard, according to its pledge, proceeded to the communal elections on March 26 and transferred its authority to the elected council. These democratic elections on the basis of universal suffrage have rejoiced the heart of Kautsky. But the Commune is great despite and not because of its infirmities. Its democratic forms cannot obscure its real import as an "anticipation of the dictatorship of the proletariat". In that penetrating study of the Commune called the "Civil War in France", Marx writes with unerring genius that "the Commune was essentially the government of the working class the result of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class; it was the political form discovered at last under which labor could work out its economic emancipation."

This was borne out in his view both by the structure of the Commune and the nature of its practical program of legislation. The Commune was the direct antithesis of the Empire. It was to have been not a parliamentary but a working corporation, legislative and executive at the same time. It should not be misinterpreted as the resurrection of the mediaeval communes. The communal constitution would have brought the rural producers (peasantry) under the intellectual leadership of the towns. The unity of the nation was to be organized by means of the communal structure. The standing army and the police were abolished and their place taken by the people in arms. A blow was struck at the clerical power by the separation of church and state and the expropriation of church property. The judicial functionaries lost their sham independence and were to be chosen by popular mandate. A further blow was aimed at the bureaucracy by setting the maximum pay at 6,000 francs a year and introducing the right of re-call. The schools were thrown open to popular education. Night work was abolished in the bakeries; workshops that had been closed down were seized, with the aim of transferring them to groups of cooperative workers.

The Shortcomings of the Commune

But the Commune was not destined to carry out its program. For a successful social revolution, at least two indispensible conditions are necessary, the sufficient development of the forces of production and the preparation of the proletariat. Unfortunately, both of these necessary pre-requisites were lacking.

To take the latter first. The great misfortune of the Commune was the absence of a centralized single-willed revolutionary Communist party, such as dominated the Russian situation in 1917. The Parisian proletariat was led by the most motley crowd of petty-bourgeois socialists —who did not seem to understand the mission of the Commune and who seemed as anxious as possible to shift responsibility. "They could not understand," wrote Lissagaray, an eye witness, "that the Commune was a barricade and not an administration." As a result, the history of the leadership of the Commune is an incredible series of strategic blunders that played right into the hands of the reactionary camp of Versailles.

The major task of the Commune, if it had been guided by a revolutionary party which understood the meaning of civil war, was to crush the National Assembly at Versailles. But instead of assuming the offensive, the Commune waited passively while the Versailles counter-revolution mobilized and organized its forces. Thiers and the rest of the bourgeois executive and bureaucrats were allowed to slip out of Paris under the very noses of the National Guard. The agents of the National Assembly were allowed to carry on their work of sabotage and conspiracy from within the walls of Paris. The Commune suffered from the precipitate transfer of power from the hands of the Central Committee of the Guard to the Council, and then from the lingering division of authority between them. The military work was in a state of confusion. While the bourgeoisie organized its calumny of the Commune on an international scale, the Commune did almost nothing to counteract this poisonous propaganda by popularizing its own true aims. Dissension and disunion prevailed. The Committee of Public Saftey that was established, lacked a realization of its true function as an extraordinary commission to protect the revolution.

The Triumph of the Bourgeoisie

The result was that the initiative passed over into the hands of the bourgeoisie, who now had a preponderance of forces. Thiers understood very well what the Commune signified and he suffered no "democratic" and humanitarian illusions in circumventing its destruction. The Versaillese entered Paris on May 21st and eight days of fighting and white terror followed. Vae victis! In the course of that bloody week 30,000 communards were massacred and tens of thousands of others were deported or incarcerated. Altogether the Parisian proletariat was bled white of a generation of its elite. The Commune was crushed. France was made safe for the Third Republic, that monument to the fraud of bourgeois democracy, that regime of the Panama scandals, of Millerandism, of the Dreyfus affair, of Poincaire and the alliance with the Tsar, of the press subsidized by the Tsar's minister, Isvolsky, of the murder of Jaures, of Clemenceau and the Treaty of Versailles.

The fall of the Commune spelled the end of the first international also. The French government hounded the Internationalists out of France. Bitter dissension arose among the political emigrants. The anarchist opposition of Bakunin based on the Latin countries of small industry, brought about a split. But the real reason for the decline of the International was the same as for the fall of the Commune—the fact that capitalism had not as yet exhausted its latent possibilities. Stalin had not yet been invented and in the view of Marx, the social revolution could be proclaimed, but not solved, within the limits of national boundaries. Neither on the continent nor in Great Britain was the level of economic development ripe for the finish of capitalist production. The British manufacturers dominating the world market, took advantage of the industrial revival to bribe their labor aristocracy, and the desertion of British labor was another heavy blow to the International.

The Lessons of the Commune

The center of gravity of the international labor movement, as Marx had foreseen, now passed to Germany, which experienced its era of great industrial expansion. In the epoch of the Second International and capitalist imperialism, "there could be no more talk of a premature revolution," wrote Kautsky. It was a period of the preparation of the proletariat. But if the First International disappeared in the glory of the Paris Commune, the Second crashed on the shameful betrayal of the social democracy.

The Lessons of the Commune, its essence as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the necessary role of the revolutionary party as organizer of victory, only became the practical politics of the working class again with the development of the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917. It was Lenin who brought into brilliant relief the teachings that Marx had derived from the Commune and he made them the material for epoch-making theses in the struggle against the Provisional Government and menshevism. One of the foremost of these lessons he applied was that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes". The slogan—All Power to the Soviets—is the resurrection of the Paris Commune on a gigantic scale, in the epoch of the final struggle between the world proletariat and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

AUTO INDUSTRY MOVES SOUTH

By ROBERT L. CRUDEN

DETROIT—Like all other industries, the auto industry is quietly moving south. This has been brought to light within the past week.

The Kelsey Wheel Co., makers of Ford wheels, have reopened their Memphis, Tenn., plant and are now planning extensive development. They are putting out Ford wheels more cheaply than Ford himself. As a result, the Ford wheel plant at Hamilton, Ohio is being shut down.

Southern workers in the Detroit Kelsey plants are being offered jobs "back home" at fair wages—but they fear that after a month or two their wages will be slashed to 35-40 cents per hour. That is the prevailing rate there at present. The Federated Press was warned, however, not to take these figures too seriously. "Just wait until they get the hill people and the southerners back from Detroit and wages will go down to 20-25 cents an hour," your correspondent was informed.

Fisher Body—General Motors unit—is also building in Memphis. It is intended to develop a real manufacturing center there while Detroit will remain merely as a center of distribution for the northern region. Mnay Fisher plants in Detroit have been permanently closed. "Integration of manufacture" is the reason given by officials. Movement to the low wage south is the real reason.

The notorious sweat shop, Briggs, has also gone south. Reports here tell of plants opening in Memphis and other southern centers. Workers here are being offered opportunities to go "back home" and teach the "hill billies" at 60 cents an hour. "Yeah, and how long will it last?" is the cynical question which never produces a quite satisfactory reply.

Nevertheless, thousands of southerners have left the city. Penniless and destitute they have gone away, bitter, cynical. Perhaps the auto masters may yet meet their Waterloo, not in world-famed Detroit, but in the unknown towns of the sweated south.

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SACCO-VANZETTI CASE REOPENED IN BOSTON

BOSTON—(FP)—The best people in Boston are mortally affronted by a full page advertisement in their morning papers asking, in type two inches high, Were Sacco and Vanzetti Innocent or Guilty? This question solved by Pres. Lowell of Harvard, former Gov. Fuller and other leading dignitaries of the Bay State by sending the two labor men to the electric chair in Charlestown state prison, bobs up again to reopen the famous labor case in an advertisement sponsored by Liberty magazine.

Liberty is offering $10,000 for the "best solution" to the Sacco-Vanzetti mystery, despite the judgement of the Lowell committee. Another $10,000 is offered for the solution of the preparedness day bomb explosion for which Tom Mooney is wasting away his life in San Quentin.

The temerity of a leading national magazine, the pet of the reactionaries, in bringing up these labor cases is another source of amazement in Boston, still sullen and resentful because the rest of the world insists on believing in the innocence of Sacco, Vanzetti and Mooney.

THE NEW COURSE IN THE ECONOMY OF THE SOVIET UNION :-: by L. D. Trotsky

ADVENTURE IN ECONOMICS AND ITS DANGER

The success of the industrial development of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is of universal significance. The Social Democrats deserve nothing but contempt. They do not even attempt to estimate the tempo which Soviet economy has attained. This tempo is neither stable nor assured. We will discuss that later. But it gives experimental proof of the immeasurable potentialities which are inherent in socialistic methods of economy.

If in 1918 Social Democracy in Germany had used the power which had been given to it by the Revolution to establish socialism, (and it had every possibility to do so) it would not be difficult to understand, in view of the experience of Soviet Russia, what economic power the socialist masses in central Europe, eastern Europe and considerable portions of Asia, would now have. All the world would have a different aspect. But now humanity will pay for the betrayal of the German Social Democracy by further wars and revolutions. Never was there a greater crime in all history . However, this question is not the subject of our discussion.

The initial estimation of the possibilities of socialistic industrialization was briefly analyzed by us in the book **"Whither Russia? Towards Capitalism or Towards Socialism"**, in the early part of 1925, prior to the end of the reconstruction period. Then we proved that even after all the equipment inherited by the bourgeoisie was exhausted, i. e., after the transition to increased independent reproduction on the basis of socialistic accumulation, Soviet industry would be able to give a coefficient of growth absolutely unattainable by capitalism. After every consideration, we counted on a fifteen to twenty percent annual growth. Philistines of the type of Stalin and Molotov derided these hypothetical figures as though they were a dream of "super-industrialization". Reality left our calculations far behind. But after this there occurred what has often happened before. These empirical Philistines, overwhelmed by the success, decided that from now on everything was possible.

The Meaning of the Stalinist Zig-zag

During recent months it finally became apparent that the Stalin faction has, in the question of domestic economy of the Soviet Union as well as in the policy of the Comintern, transformed its Left zigzag into an ultra-Left course*. This ultra-Left course is a negation and adventurous addition of that opportunism which has controlled since 1923, and especially from 1926 to 1928. The present day policy represents no less a danger and in certain aspects a greater danger than the policy of yesterday.

The ultra-Leftism in the economic policy of the Soviet Union is now developing along two lines: Industrialization and Collectivism.

Since the beginning of 1923 the Opposition has demanded a quicker tempo of industrialization. It based its demands not only upon the necessities but upon the actual economic possibilities.

The dominating faction (Zinoviev, Stalin, Bucharin, and later Stalin and Bucharin without Zinoviev), accused the Opposition of the intention, in the name of superindustrialization, to "rob the peasants" and thus to break the economic and political connection between town and country.

Experience showed that the Opposition was correct. The opportunistic leadership systematically underestimated the resources of nationalized industry. The actual development of industry, impelled by markets and the pressure of the Opposition, left the official figures from year to year far behind.

The struggle between the central leadership and the Opposition became especially acute, just at that moment when the stand of the Opposition was confirmed along all lines. The leadership was compelled within a few months to forsake their old minimum five-year plan, which had been criticised in the platform of the Opposition, and to replace it with a new and incomparably bolder plan. When the first year demonstrated the possibility of realizing the projected tempo, evidently to the surprise of the leadership itself, the latter at once abandoned their petty doubts and rushed to the opposite extreme. Now, the slogan is: "Forward, without stopping, forward!" The plan is being constantly revised in the direction of its extension.

From passive possibilism the opportunists have turned to unlimited subjectivism. A reference by an economist or a worker to actual obstacles—as for instance, bad equipment, lack of raw material or its poor quality—is considered a betrayal of the revolution. The government demands: speed, action, offensive! Never mind the rest.

How Stalin Handles the Five Year Plan

The first quarter of the present economic year, the second year of the five year plan (October-February), in spite of the significant progress in comparison with the first quarter of the preceding year (about 26% of the growth) missed fire. For the first time during the epigonean leadership, industry remained behind the outlined plan. Especially lagging was the heavy industry. Something was wrong with the cost prices. To lessen or to disguise their straggling, the mills of the heavy industry took recourse through the deterioration of the quality of the products. The amount of "brak" (imperfect products) dangerously increased. The Central Committee answered with the categorical demand not only to fulfill the program, but to surpass it.

The objective data began to testify more and more convincingly, as could have been also foreseen theoretically, that the start was bigger than the strength. The industrialization is upheld more and more by means of the administrative whip. The equipment and the labor-power are being forced. Disproportions of production in different fields of industry are accumulating. Retardation in the following quarters of the year, might prove more threatening than in the first. The government, on its part, sees itself compelled to patch up the newly opened industrial gaps by new budget or credit assignments. This leads to paper money inflation, which becomes, in its turn, a source for the artificial increase of the demand for goods, and consequently makes individual branches of industry surpass the calculations of the plan, and thus increases the accumulation of new disproportions.

The Soviet economy depends on the world economy. This dependence expresses itself by import and export. The foreign trade is the narrowest point of the whole system of the Soviet economy. The difficulties of foreign trade are fundamentally the difficulties of our backwardness. At present, an important fact of conjunctural character must be added to it. The symptoms of crisis of world economy already affect the Soviet export through the decrease of the demand and the lowering of the prices of the exported products. If the world industrial and commercial crisis deepens and prolongs itself, the further narrowing of our, even now, insufficient export, will affect the import, i. e., the import of machines and of the most important kinds of technical raw material. This danger does not, of course, depend on the will of the Soviet leadership. But the leadership can and must take it into consideration. Hazardous speeding up of industrialization, without coordinating the activities of its different branches, runs an obvious risk of finding itself, through its foreign trade, in the midst of the world crisis: the import of the necessary means of production will be cut off, and a new factor of disorganization will enter as a wedge into the five year plan.

It is true that the industrial crisis in America and Europe might open a possibility of commercial and industrial credit for the Soviet Union. But this knife has also two blades: when the economic development has a correct rythm, the foreign credits are able to ease and speed the progress of industrialization. In the face of the accumulated contradictions, they can only postpone the crisis, giving it later a double force.

However, we mention here the dangers that come from world economy, only in passing, and as a hypothesis. The central question of today is not in them, of course. Immeasurably greater and more direct are the dangers concentrated along the most important line of Soviet policy: the line of the relation between the town and the village.

The Bureaucracy and the Kulaks

For several years the Opposition has demanded the more decisive taxation of the rich layer of the peasantry in the interest of the industrial devolpment. The official leadership denied the fact of accumulation of the rich peasants (Kulaks), and accused the Opposition of the intention of "robbing the peasant". Meanwhile, the Kulaks had developed into a considerable figure, and, leading behind them the middle peasant, subjected the cities and industry to a starvation blockade. The height of the demonstration of the Kulak's strength coincided with the moment of police dispersal of the Opposition (the beginning of 1928). The bureaucracy had to change its policy abruptly. A crusade was declared against the Kulaks. The measures for the limitation of tendencies of exploitation by the Kulaks which the Opposition had proposed the day before, were found insufficient, immediately after the beginning of the struggle with the Kulaks for grain.

The Kulaks, however, are not separated from the middle peasants by an impenetrable partition. In a setting of goods (trade) economy, the middle peasants automatically bring out from their midst a Kulak. The hail of administrative blows, inconsistent and panicky, directed against the Kulaks (and not against them only) cut short the way for the further development for the top layer of the middle peasantry. So-called disagreements with the peasantry became apparent. The peasantry, after the experience of the revolution, does not easily resort to the method of civil war. It rushes around agitatedly looking for another way out. Thus the "wholesale collectivism" was born.

The Soviet government patronizes, in full accord with its main purpose, the cooperative methods, both in trade and industry. Up to the very recent time, however, the productive cooperation in the country(collective farms) has occupied a very insignificant place in the agricultural economy. Only two years ago, the present Commissar of Agriculture, Jakovlev, wrote that collective farming, in view of the technical and cultural backwardness of our peasantry and its scattered character, will remain yet for a long period of time, "little islands in a sea of peasant private farms". Meanwhile, unexpectedly for the leadership, at the very last period, collectivism developed a grandiose speed. It is enough to say that, according the Five Year plan, the collective economy was supposed to include at the end of the five year period, about 20% of the peasant farms. Meanwhile, the collectivism already, i. e., at the beginning of the second year, includes more than 50% of them. With this speed kept up, collectivism will cover all peasan farms in a year or two. It seems a great success. In actual fact—a great danger.

The Basis for Collective Agricultural Economy

A productive collectivism of agriculture presupposes a definite technical basis. Collective agricultural economy is first of all, a large economy. The rational size of this economy is determined, however, by the character of the applied means and methods of production. With the aid of peasant plows and peasant nags, even all of them put together, it is not possible to create a large agricultural economy, even as it is not possible to build a ship out of a flock of fishing boats. The collectivisation of agricultural economy can be achieved only through its mechanization. From this follows that a general development of the industrialization of a country determines the possible speed of the collectivisation of its agricultural economy.

But in reality these two processes turned out to be separated. In spite of its fast development, the Soviet industry still is, and will for a long time yet, remain extremely backward. The high coefficients of its growth are to be considered in relation to the general low level. We must not forget for a moment that, even in case th intended plan should be fully carried out, the Soviet industry would be able to supply with tractors and other kinds of machinery only 20-25% of the peasant farms. And that only at the end of the five year period. That is the real scale of the collectivisation.

While the Soviet Union remains isolated, the industrialization (that is, the mechanization and electrification, etc.) of agriculture could be thought of only as a prospect of a number of consecutive Five Year plans. The present leadership itself so looked at this matter till yesterday. But now it appears that the collectivisation has already fulfilled itself by 50%, and that during the next year it will be completed to 100% in a number of the most important agricultural regions.

It is perfectly clear that the present tempo of collectivisation is defined not by the productive but by the administrative factors. The sharp, and, as a matter of fact, panicky, change of the policy toward the Kulaks, as well as toward the middle peasant resulted, during the last year, in an almost complete liquidation of the NEP.

A peasant represents a small productive unit and as such cannot exist without a market. The liquidation of the NEP presented for the middle peasants the following alternatives: either to go back to the natural consuming economy, i. e. to disappear, or to become involved in a civil war for the market; or to try his hand at the new way in the collective economy.

In collectivisation the peasant finds not persecution but advantages: lesser taxes, supply of agricultural machinery on easy terms, loans etc. If at present the peasantry is crowding into collective economy, it is not because the collective economy has already shown its advantages. It is not because the State has already proved to the peasant (or at least to itself) that it has the possibility to reconstitute the peasant economy on the collective basis in the near future. It is because the peasantry, and first of all, its top layer, which was during a number of years of the liberal Stalin-Ustrialov policy, getting more and more into a mood of a capitalistic farmer, suddenly found itself in an impasse. The gate of the market was padlocked. The peasants stood frightened in front of it a while, and then rushed to the only open gate, that of collectivisation.

The leadership itself was not less surprised by the sudden rush of the peasants into the collective economy than the peasants were surprised by the liquidation of the NEP. But getting over its astonishment, the leadership created a new theory: the building of socialism—it enters its "third" stage: there is no more need for a market; in the near future the Kulak as a class will be liquidated.

The Bureaucrats About-Face

Essentially it is not a new theory. It is the old theory of **socialism in one country**; only the gears are shifted to the "third speed". Formerly we have been taught that the building of socialism will go with a "snail's pace" (Bucharin) and the Kulak will be painlessly "growing in" to socialism. Now the "snail's pace" is replaced with a speed almost that of aviation. The Kulak does not "grow in" any more—not a chance at such a speed—the Kulak is simply being liquidated through the order of an administration.

The liquidation of the Kulak, seriously taken, is unquestionably the liquidation of the last capitalistic class. Without the basis of the Kulak, a jobber, a speculator, a city Nepman, cannot exist economically. It is even more so since the official program of the liquidation of the Kulaks as a class, includes in it the petty bourgeois elements of the city.

To include the entire peasantry in the socialistic economy means to transform the Soviet Union into a society without classes in two or three years. The society which has no classes does not need a government, epecially such a concentrated form of government as a dictatorship. No wonder that some of the young "theoreticians" of the new course expressed an **idea that it would be advisable** to liquidate the Soviets, at least in the villages, and to replace them with the merely productive organizations, namely, with the administration of the local collective economy. These "theoreticians" were, however, brought to their senses by a declaration, from the top, that the dictatorship will be necessary for a long time yet. But why and what for it will be necessary to have a dictatorship after a complete liquidation of the Kulaks—that is to come in a year—the leaders did not explain. And it is not an accident either. Otherwise, they themselves would have to admit that the program of the speedy liquidation of the Kulaks, with the aid of peasant ploughs and old mares and wagons, is a bureaucratic adventure, spiced with theoretical charlatanism.

The Kulaks and Industrialization

In practice, the liquidation of the Kulaks led to merely administrative methods of the confiscation of the Kulak's property, his house, his lot and to his exile. This policy has been carried out in a way which regards the Kulak as an entirely foreign body among the peasants, some kind of invader, like a nomad or a Tartar. As a matter of fact, the Kulak represents only one of the stages of the development of the middle peasants. It is possible, of course, to liquidate every individual Kulak. It can be achieved with the aid of two well-armed policemen. But to prevent the reappearance of Kulaks, at least in the collective economies, is much more difficult. For that, industrialization and the cultural revolution are necessary.

There are three types of collective economies in the Soviet Union, depending on the degree to which the means of production are in common use. These kinds are: the Partnerships, the Guilds and the Communes. In a Partnership the work in the fields is being done by private equipment: the labor is common, but the means of production belong to the individuals. In Guilds the most expensive machinery is the common property. And, finally, in Communes all means of production are the common property. The ways of dividing profits among the members of these types of economies differ according to the forms of ownership: from the capitalistic to the near-communistic way.

These three types of collective economies represent the three stages of the progress of collectivisation. The highest type demonstrates to the lower one its tomorrow.

The transition from one stage to another—its volume and its tempo—is fundamentally determined by the technical conditions of production. Therefore it is perfectly clear, that the wider is the scale of the present collectivisation, the more primitive form it will have to take, thus opening the way to capitalistic tendencies. But the last order of the Central Committee demands as far as possible, full common ownership of the means of production from the very beginning. In other words wholesale collectivisation supported mainly by peasant equipment, must occur in a form approximately between a Guild and a Commune. The contradiction is striking: tho wider the scale of forced collectivisation, and consequently, the lower its technical basis, the higher is the type of social relations that the utopian-bureaucratic leadership is trying to impose.

At the same time the question of intra-relation of the collective economies is not discussed in the press. To avoid the decisive social question concerning the distribution of profits, the leaders and the executors replace the Marxian analysis with an unbearable propagandistic noise.

The Class Character of the Collectives

It goes without saying, that if the state industry could supply the collective economies with state means of production, it would soon remove the difference between these collective economies and the state farms. It would transform the peasants into regular socialistic workmen for state wheat factories, and would once and forever, take the ground from under the feet of the Kulaks. But from such a regime we are as yet separated by many years. The prevailing majority of collective economies will be compelled, for several years, to fall back upon the live-stock and other equipment of the peasants themselves.

Let us admit, however, that even under these conditions, collectivisation will show serious and direct advantages, capable of overcoming the individualistic tendencies of the peasants. Immediately, a new difficulty arises; not one of an administrative but of a social nature; not the difficulty inherent in methods of collective economy, but the class character of small producers: namely, the problem of distributing profits. Would a peasant who gave to the collective economy two horses, have a right to more profit than a farm-hand who brought with him only his two arms? If the percentage on the "capital" should not be credited, nobody would want to supply his own property for nothing. Then the state will meet with an insurmountable task: to equip anew all the collective economies with necessary machinery. Should the percentage on the "capital" be allowed, an economic differentiation of individuals within the collective economies will inevitably follow. And in case collective economies prove to have considerable advantages in comparison with individual farming, differentiation through them will develop faster than it did before.

The problem is not, however, exhausted by the matter of equipment alone. A family which has three workers, would want to receive more than a family with only one grown-up worker. Should a collective economy want to use the unexpended part of the earnings of its members as a loan to buy new machinery, or for a turn-over of capital, again it would have to pay a percentage. This in turn opens the way to more differentiation within the economy, and thus, to its possible transformation into a petty bourgeois cooperation, with the concentration of leadership in the hands of the well-off, and the majority of its members in a position close to that of a mere farm-hand

Such phenomena have already been observed in the past, when collective economies remained, with rare exceptions, entirely selective. They are even more inevitable in face of the wholesale collectivisation, which, by retaining the practical basis of a small farm, brings with it all the contradictions inherent in the small productive unit, and thus the inevitable reappearance of the Kulaks within the collective economies.

The Kulaks in Masquerade

It means that the next day after the official "liquidation of the Kulaks as a class" i. e., after the confiscation of the property of "named Kulaks", and their exile, the Stalinist bureaucracy will declare the Kulaks within the collective economies to be progressive or "civilized cooperators", falsely quoting, of course, Lenin's formula ("Concerning Cooperation"). The collective economy may become, in this case, **only a new form of social and political disguise for the Kulaks.** As director of such a masquerade, the present Commissar of Agriculture, Jakovlev, is perfect. Not in vain did he occupy himself for several years with statistical equilibristics to prove that the Kulak was invented by the Opposition. Not in vain was he, till yesterday, together with other officials, declaring that the Platform of the Opposition was a counter-revolutionary document—the Platform which demanded the speeding up of collectivisation on the basis of planned industrialization.

In the meantime the peasants react to the contradictions between the collectivisation and its insufficient technical basis in advance, by selling their live-stock right and left before joining the collective economies The official press is full of alarming reports of the mass destruction of working live-stock and its sale to slaughter houses. The leadership reacts to this with orders, telegrams and threats. But it is obviously insufficient. A peasant does not know whether he will get credit for his horse or his cow, or in what way. He hopes that a collective economy will get a tractor from the state. In any case he does not see any reason why he should give his cow to the collective economy for nothing. A peasant is still a narrow realist. Seeing himself compelled to join the collective economy, he hurries to get the advantages from the liquidation of his individual property. The working live-stock decreases. Meanwhile the state has no possibility to replace it with mechanical power, or at least with other stock of better quality. This prepares the exceptionally acute difficulties for the collective economies at the very beginning of their activities.

The Panicky Retreat of Stalin

It is not difficult to foresee that after the present insecure offensive, the panicky retreat will follow, elemental down below, and pretending to be a "maneuvering" policy above. The collective economies hastily built up, will either simply fall apart, or will begin their degradation. In a cruel internal struggle, the individual means of production will be liberated, thus opening the way to capitalistic tendencies. Irreproachable leadership will blame, of course, the executors of being "Trotskyists", and will bring out from some hidden corner Stalin's capitalistic-farmer's formulae of 1924-25, in case the party will give the bureaucratic fourflushers the necessary time.

What the Bureaucrats Will Say

It is not difficut to foresee what reaction our analysis will arouse in the official circles. The government officials will say that we are gambling on a crisis. Scoundrels will add that we desire the fall of the Soviet government. People of Yaroslavsky's type will explain that we write in the interest of Chamberlain. It is possible that the Mensheviks and liberals will drag out a score of sentences to prove that it is indispensable for Russia to come back to capitalism. The Communist officials will again establish the "solidarity between the Opposition and the Mensheviks". So it happened before, so it will happen again. But that will not stop us. Intrigues pass, but facts remain. The Stalinist bureaucracy, after several years of opportunistic policy, is going through a period of short-lasting but acute madness of ultra-Leftism. The theory and practice of the "Third Period" carry with them equally destructive consequences within the Soviet Union as well as outside its borders.

Some people will say: the Opposition has changed places with the Apparatus. The Opposition accuses the Apparatus of super-industrialization while it itself pulls to the **Right.** Other thoughtful souls will add: the Right wing that used to accuse the Stalinists of super-industrialization and of "Trotskyism" has capitulated to Stalin, while the Left Opposition, it seems, is taking the point of view of the Right wing.

All such reasonings, comparisons and approximations can be foreseen beforehand. And it is possible to write in advance all articles and speeches that will be written and said on the subject. It is not difficut to disclose the superficiality of these reasonings.

The Opposition has never undertaken "to catch up and pass in quick time" the capitalist world. We demanded the speeding up of industrialization, because it is the only way to secure a leading position for the cities in their relation to the country, and thus to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our Estimates for Industrialization

Our estimation of the possibilities of industrialization was immeasurably broader and bolder than that of the bureaucrats during all the time till 1928. But we never regarded the resources of industrialization as inexhaustible. We never thought that its tempo could be regulated by the administrative whip alone. We have always advanced, as a basic condition of industrialization, the idea of the necessity of a systematic improvement of the conditions of the working class. We have always considered collectivisation as dependent upon industrialization. We saw the socialist reconstruction of peasant economy only as a prospect of many years to come. We never closed our eyes to the inevitability of internal conflicts during the socialistic reconstruction of a single nation. To remove contradictions in country life is possible only by removing contradictions between the city and the country. This can be realized only through the world revolution. We never demanded, therefore, the liquidation of classes within the scope of the Five Year plan of Stalin and Krzhyzhanovsky. We demanded the limitation of the exploiting tendencies of the Kulaks, and the systematic cutting off of his accumulation in the interest of industrialization. For that we were exiled on the strength of article 58 of the Criminal Code.

The Marxian Opposition was denounced by the bloc of the Right and the Center. They separated for a while. But now they are united again. They have a common basis: **nationalistic-socialism.** Together they made a curve of 180 degrees over our heads. They transform more and more the problem of industrialization into a hazardous bureaucratic super-industrialization. They abolished the NEP, i. e., committed the very "crime" of which they falsely accused the Opposition and for which our friends are still filling up the prisons and places of exile. The limitations of the Kulaks they replace with the official "liquidation", which yesterday they have been ascribing to us and which we denied with clear Marxian conscience.

The Rights, who were afraid to take the most necessary steps ahead, now joined with the Center in a frantic rush "forward". The bloc is restored and the snail's pace is replaced by the speed of an airplane.

(Continued on Page 8)

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* We state with great satisfaction, the fact that our friends in the Soviet Union do not in the least deceive themselves about the Stalinist "ultra-Leftism", which Right Mensheviks and Liberals call "Trotskyism", realized by Stalin. We succeeded during recent months in exchanging a number of letters with our friends in different parts of the Soviet Union and found a common agreement on the attitude toward the new course. Some of the letters received by us are being published in extracts in the present number of the Bulletin of the Opposition (In Russian).

(The Militant will shortly publish a number of the letters here referred to by comrade Trotsky.—Editors.)

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Next Steps of the American Workers

By ARNE SWABECK

Arising largely out of the present conditions of a deep depression and widespread unemployment, working class forces are now being set into motion. The most pressing question of the moment before the American revolutionary movement therefore, is a correct orientation as a base for formulation of its strategy and tactics among the masses.

It is not yet possible to estimate the extent, the depth and the duration of the present deep depression of American capitalist economy; but certain characteristic features are clearly visible. Financial experts, when speaking seriously and not for mere public consumption, acknowledge the depression but stress every production increase in single industries, particularly the recent gains in steel output in some quarters, as signs of an early recovery. This, of course, is a deliberate policy, which does not alter the actual situation in the least. However, there is today a noticeable difference from the various pre-war crises. The latter were distinct symptoms of growth which were chiefly stoppages in the violent growth of productive machinery and the expansion of markets to make possible certain adjustments necessitated by this rapid process.

Today the United States has reached the stage of large scale structural unemployment, which, in other words, means a standing army of unemployed. This is not merely of those cast out from some industries to be quickly absorbed into other or new developing ones, but "superfluous" workers eliminated by the rapid development of machinery and immensely increased labor productivity in practically every sphere. This is sufficiently borne out by all available reliable statistics.

Unemployment—A Spur to Class Action

The spectre of the standing army of unemployed will hence be haunting the exploiters and become a mighty spur moving the workers toward class action. The direction and the speed this will take in its first stage depends, however, a great deal on the present level of development. Unfortunately it cannot be expected, or even hoped, that the workers will as a mass move with one leap to the Communist party or the "revolutionary unions". Any orientation based upon such hopes will surely come to grief. On the contrary, it is the duty of Communists to be with the masses set in motion and to show the proper direction through such steps that the workers are now ready to take.

With the lines of those seeking work growing longer in front of factory gates, it cannot be expected that the working class will engage in widespread offensive battles. But we know, from what is inherent in the capitalist system, that precisely in this situation the capitalists seek to get out of economic difficulties by increased pressure upon the workers through further reduction of their standard of living and conditions of work. This added pressure leaves no way open for the workers but one of resistance. The logic of this deduction leads to the conclusion of a coming period of defensive battles. The history of the American workers throughout the various crises of capitalist production is replete with defensive battles, before the offensive could again be assumed during the period of recovery. It is also one filled with many attempts to seek a solution in political reform activities, as the most immediate outgrowth of the crisis. This suggests another conclusion that this is the trend of development we face at this moment.

Some Labor History and Struggles

A cursory glance at labor's history from the beginning of trades unionism in the thirties, through the various periods of cyclic crises, shows with almost unfailing regularity the same phenomenon. During times of "prosperity", with its labor shortage and the cost of living invariably outleaping raises in wages, aggressive strike offensives and expansion of trade unions were on the order of the day. These just as surely changed when a new crisis set in. While these were often accompanied with desperate and violent revolts, the character and often repeated defeats of the defensive strikes turned the workers' attention toward struggle for political reforms which were often expressed through various forms of labor or middle class parties. This may be said to have been particularly marked up until the "great upheaval" in '85 and '86; but a similar recurrence of developments of more recent date can be noticed. As an example a few facts from the last industrial depression at the end of 1921 and beginning of 1922 will prove very instructive.

The U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the following figures on the character and cause of disputes during the depression. We quote from the years 1919 to 1923, which, although incomplete, are very suggestive. Disputes for wage increases (offensive character) reached in the year 1919 a total of 1,074; for the year 1920 a total of 1,328; 1921 a total of 120; 1922 a total of 133; 1923 (first six months) a total of 310. Disputes in resistance of wage decreases (defensive character) were as follows: Year 1919 a total of 86; year 1920 a total of 147; year 1921 a total of 895; 1922 a total of 255; 1923 (first six months) a total of 20. This is sufficient to show clearly the large extent of disputes of a defensive character, to ward off wage decreases, during the depression, to be immediately reversed and become offensive struggles, for wage increases, during the period of recovery. Similarly, the disputes around demands for union recognition reached their highest during these years with a total of 350 in 1919 and its lowest with only 53 in 1921. The employers' offensive netted them the highest number of direct victories in these disputes in 1921 with a total of 701.

The Political Action of Labor

How does the matter stand, then, with labor political action? One can, of course, speak only of labor political reformist action since the American workers as a mass have not yet learned the necessity of revolutionary action. The more recent labor and farmer-labor party developments arose in 1919 with the formation of the National Farmer-Labor Party at Chicago. In 1920 there was the first appearance of the Farmer-Labor Party of the state of Washington. In some other states there were labor activities within non-partisan political leagues. But in 1922 this movement received a pronounced impetus. During the summer the American Labor Party of New York City was organized; the Minnesota non-partisan political league became re-organized to the Farmer-Labor Party, while a similar reorganization took place in South Dakota. The same year saw the organization of the Progressive Party (farmer-labor) in Idaho and one year later the Farmer-Labor Party of West Virginia. At the "Conference for Progressive Political Action" conference in Cleveland in 1922, at which a number of international unions and central bodies were represented, a motion made by the Chicago Federation of Labor group to "declare for independent political action by the agricultural and industrial workers through a party of their own" was defeated with a vote of only 64 to 52.

It is significant that these were the developments following right upon the heels of the last industrial depression. The culmination and beginning of the decline of this movement were reached at the July, 1923 convention in Chicago at which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was formed, but alas—on paper. From the last gasp at the Farmer-Labor Party convention at St. Paul the following year, there have been but little actual signs since in this direction.

The Rising Struggles

The present depression finds the vast gulf of class distinctions greater than ever in the United States. According to government reports the total net profits of all corporations in 1929 after all deductions were made have almost doubled since 1922, rising to an estimated amount of $9,900,000,000. While profits thus soared, wages paid to workers in manufacturing industries during the same period advanced but 19 per cent, not to speak of the level of the cost of living From December, 1928 to September, 1929 the Labor Bureau, Inc. estimates that the average wage in the country decreased 2 percent.

It is a foregone conclusion that American imperialism will make efforts abroad to get out of its economic difficulties, through war and otherwise, while simultaneously strengthening its world hegemony. The first steps are already being put into operation. Leaving aside here the matter of the effects of these efforts abroad, American capitalism of course likewise tries to make the workers at home bear the increased burden. The results will almost surely lead to a repetition of past history. But this will take place now, however, under conditions of a higher development of capitalism and also on a higher plane for the working class. The crushing capitalist offensive during the present heavy unemployment, with the aim to reduce wages, increase speed-up and to cripple the unions, will bring forth resistance through workers' defensive struggles. It will certainly involve workers organized in the existing trades unions. The necessarily accompanying despotic use of the capitalist machinery of the state, to carry the offensive through more effectively, points to the workers' resistance in this field taking a direction towards political reformist activities, most likely to be expressed in a labor political party.

The Labor Party and the Communists

Under such conditions would a labor party spring forth as a full fledged instrument of imperialism? Reactionary labor "leaders" would surely become part of its composition and strive for "leadership" there the same as they do in all other broad non-revolutionary workers' organizations. They will, of course, continue in their role as tools of imperialism. Very consciously American imperialism will learn to utilize them as "saviours" of their system and privileges fully as well as in the case of the McDonald government in England today. The American McDonalds in turn will exert all energies to subject the labor party as a whole to further this aim. But their success in this endeavor depends precisely upon their ability to keep Communist influence isolated on the outside. Nevertheless, as a means of helping to separate the working masses from their political bondage to the historical capitalist parties, the labor party would serve as well today as in the past and would occupy the same place in history as previously assigned to it. In that sense it will be one step toward the logical revolutionary position that the American working class must finally assume.

So far, this working class, as its history shows, has only reached the point of more or less localized and sporadic attempts in reformist politics. It is still completely bound within the capitalist political party system which thereby serves as a mighty brake upon the essential character of any economic struggles of the workers. That is today decisive, and the problem is to break through this barrier. Increased pressure upon the workers will lead to finding the forms for breaking through. What road will the first steps take? The road of the revolution with the Communist Party? That is quite inconceivable, even with a rapid tempo of development. Can we in America avoid the stage of a national scale of labor political reformist activities? That is the way to put the question, and to also add, that even though it can hardly be avoided, it will of necessity be of short duration in the present epoch of rapid development. It then become pertinent to ask, how can the working class best and most speedily draw the correct conclusion from such political reformist experiences, and how can it best be helped on the further road to a revolutionary position?

Upon the Communist movement devolves the duty of giving a correct answer to this question as well as to employ the tactics which will really be a help in the right direction. This we intend to discuss further in another article.

HOOVER SPEEDS POSTAL CLERKS

BUFFALO—Hoover has issued his cry "Efficiency". The Buffalo postal employees have already been "efficiency-ized" so much that they carried their complaint to Congress. An investigator was sent to Buffalo. He investigated—the clerks sweated: and now the report has been handed in. The official report admits the truth of the complaints that the new system is "nerve-wracking and a slave-driving one", and undoubtedly "showing a lack of consideration for the clerks", but, continues the report, "the mail service comes before the clerk".

In short, the present speed-up helps business and decreases the money necessary for clerks (thus leaving more for the politicians in the form of supervisors and inspectors.) So the speed-up is approved and continued.

The Post Office clerks appealed to Congress and now they are left holding the bag. Thus far they have been afraid to resort to any but congressional action for the improvement of their conditions. The Post Office speed-up is recognized by all connected with the service. Since 1921, according to government reports, the output per man has increased over 32%. Nor has this been due to increased use of machinery. It is due to the system, to the foreman at your side ready to jump on you and "write you up" the minute you turn your head.

A long fight is ahead of the postal clerks before this speed-up is eliminated. No amount of Congressional appeal will ever do away with the constant riding of the "efficiency administrators". The clerks will have to initiate a movement for a bona fide and strong union.

The London Debacle

(Continued from Page 1)

will be achieved is obvious from the whole viewpoint of capitalist diplomacy, which can only try to solve its differences in the arena of war.

The Lineup against the Soviet Union

The question of the relations of the powers to the Soviet Union received special consideration during one of the sessions in which there appeared no possible solution to the conference negotiations. Japan opened with a defense of its naval program on the basis that her position off the coast of Siberia demanded that she be fully prepared to take part in a general offensive against the Workers Republic. This set a precedent which was followed by the other powers. France and Italy in particular emphasized this as one of the main reasons for their naval program. It goes without saying that all of the powers have in mind an attack against the Soviet Union and that this conference has already posed the question of the relation of forces between these imperialist wolves in that event. The problem of the defense of the Soviet Union grows greater and greater and becomes one of the chief tasks of the international proletariat.

Conference Can Offer No Solution

It is clear that the London conference will arrive at nothing definite regarding naval limitation. The disappointment of Social Democracy and Pacifism is a great one. Their hopes have been shattered through the miserable collapse of the conference in which they pinned such exalted hopes. Along with this destroyed hope, the open betrayal of McDonald has become so much the more clear in his resignation from the Independent Labor Party—and his complete solidification with British Imperialism.

The much heralded London conference has collapsed. Attempts to revive it will fall exceedingly short of their mark.

The problem of war remains as ever the problem of the international proletariat irrespective of sham conferences, utilized only to mislead the workingclass and put them in a state of false security. Its solution lies in the destruction of this system of exploitation and war.

—ALBERT GLOTZER

Throughout the World of Labor

From Moscow

At Moscow, political work is carried on principally in a disorganized fashion. A dull and apathetic discontent pervades the workers. At present it is difficult to obtain food even. Manufactured goods are rationed. The lowering of the cost prices, if achieved, will be entirely through increased speed-up. Living expenses not only do not decrease, but, in fact, generally increase. If anyone shows signs of discontent—"the workers demand the discharge of the class enemy". It is thus that the competition and enthusiasm of the masses is assured.

For example: A worker, overcome by exhaustion, is refused permission to leave by the factory manager. In order not to be charged with ill-will, and in order not to incur the consequences of a "fraudulent leave", she continues working until she collapses. Then the workers carry her to the ambulance where it appears that instant medical attention is necessary. Similar occurences are not rare.

At Solomichino (in the Urals), a place of deportation one of our deported comrades, Ikanevsky, was wounded at night, while asleep, by a shot through the window. He was struck in both hands, the bones of the right hand being broken. Despite the fact that the wound, although dressed by the doctor, became infected, he was not permitted, for two weeks, to go to Guralsk for necessary surgical attention. They even attempted to make this appear faked. But they were finally forced to admit the reality of the criminal attack.

Another example: one of our comrades, deported to the Urals, was refused necessary succour for three months (since all work is forbidden). His demands were met with the taunts, "Go get it in Moscow". (The deportees who leave the town are exposed to imprisonment.—N. D. L. R.) Unable to provide for his wants he had to request incarceration.

The administration resorts to the most despotic and frightful measures toward our deported comrades. The infraction of any arbitrary rule of the G. P. U. (for example, the ban against telephoning) carries with it the menace: "Narim or the convict prison". (Narim is a place of deportation in Siberia, notorious for the hardships which the deportees suffer there —N. D. L. R.).

Recently I had the the opportunity to speak to a sympathizer who is a member in the management of a factory. I give his words briefly: "It is difficult to characterize the attitude in the circles of economic administration except as confusion and uncertainty. Very seldom does someone rise up against the five year plan. Yet none is convinced of it possibilities, mainly on account of the successive modifications of the plan. The last time, when we made modifications involving the reduction of costs and the increase in wages, we warned the Supreme Economic Council that their figures were delusive. They replied, 'Do as you are told', and we obeyed."

The masses are silent. We are in a period of stagnation despite the indisputable progress of industry. There is no real growth in proletarian initiative. It is no mistake to say that this period reminds one in many respects of the one following the reaction after 1905. They stay away, they do not attend meetings, or they arrive in time for the motion picture. (Many political meetings make use of motion pictures—N. D. L. R.) When six hundred are expected at a meeting, only two hundred show up. If the worker is asked, "Why don't you come?" he answers: "They won't tell anything new. It's all right, I won't be missed."

At workers' meetings numerous written demands come to the committee: "Where is Trotsky? What is Trotsky doing?" etc.

Many workers do not come to meetings except for renewing their contracts with the cooperatives. The appeals in the paper reach only a small upper strata of the working class and then not for long.

This year should see vast reorganizations in the factories and shops. Under the present conditions of the regime and of the Party, the system of individual management cannot but worsen the already difficult situation.

January. —R. R.

Φ

The Struggle Against Unemployment in Europe and Its Conduct

The bureau of the C. I. for western Europe—the organization created for action on a set date and on a world scale—has launched an appeal for "powerful demonstrations" which will bring together workers, employed and unemployed, in all countries. Certainly we should rejoice over the fact that the strategists of the new line have, in these last months, discovered the problem of unemployment. But what is less heartening is that they do not consider the problem of unemployment in its relation to the concrete situation in each country, but handle it in that ridiculously mechanical fashion, the failure of which we have already seen on August 1st, the first day of international struggle.

Since the Sixth World Congress it has become customary with the C. I. to discover from time to time a "central problem" which, to conform to the "revolutionary rise" in the entire planet, is thereupon proclaimed a "central problem" for all countries.

Last summer and fall it was the international strike movement being transformed into political mass strikes—if not in actuality, at least in the theses of the Executive; now it is from the supposed revolutionary movement among the unemployed the whole world over that the E.C.C.I. awaits the destruction of the very foundations of capitalism.

Tommorow it will doubtlessly be the revolutionary peasants who will embark on a revolutionary movement in honor of the international peasant congress which will be held about March 15. It seems that the bureau for western Europe with its wise foresight of this "next higher step in the revolutionary rise", has advanced the day for the world-wide struggle against unemployment from February 26 to March 6— no doubt in order that there may be a somewhat greater interval from one step to the other.

That kind of display, with "great days of struggle", has clearly nothing in common with the need for bringing the mass of unemployed to the general front of working class struggle. Some of the slogans given out by the bureau for western Europe for the day of struggle, such as "creation of organizations of unemployed", are, as a matter of fact dangerous.

If there is any sense to this slogan—that is, if it is less stupid than the one, "unemployment aid equivalent to full wages"—it can mean only the creation of organizations of unemployed, or unions of unemployed.

This slogan alone, reveals the complete lack of seriousness and the extreme ignorance of the phrase-slinging bureaucrats who are now discrediting communism.

What can be the significance of unions of unemployed? At most, to strengthen, in organized form, the isolation from the factory workers which already characterizes the unemployed. This means that they will be playing the game of the trade union bureaucrats; since the latter in most countries lend support to this isolation (which is, to a certain extent, the inevitable result of the removal of the worker from the productive process) by expelling unemployed members from the unions.

The formula of separate unions for unemployed takes for its point of departure the dangerous delusion that organized masses of unemployed can better their miserable conditions without the aid of the workers in the factories and trade unions. Of all the delusions of the third period that are growing with such speed, there is none as dangerous as this one.

Unemployment and the Workers' Morale

Permanent unemployment, such as exists in Germany, Austria, England, Poland, etc., places upon the Communists in these countries the task of preventing, with all their power, the artificial stirring up of tension and disputes between unemployed and employed workers which the reformists are systematically attempting. Unemployment is not, in general, a factor which strengthens the revolutionary current in the working class movement. On the contrary, it allows reformism to reinforce its position in the factories—the fear of unemployment being one of its best allies. In addition, it makes it possible for reformism to throw out of the factories the most conscientious and revolutionary elements. And lastly, there is no doubt that the longer unemployment lasts, the more it demoralizes and paralyzes the workers.

In order that the great dangers which are created by unemployment are not entirely ruinous, all separation between employed and unemployed workers, as far as organization is concerned, must be avoided; therefore: no separate union for unemployed but active struggle in the unions against the exclusion of unemployed and for recognition of the unemployed by the union.

But we have not yet come to the essential question. It is not the form of organization of the movement of unemployed that is decisive, but the methods of struggle against unemployment. On this depends the question of organization.

If the purely union struggle is extremely restricted in the present period, the struggle for serious reforms in favor of the unemployed has absolutely no chance of succeeding. Only great mass actions can wrest temporarily certain concessions from capitalism; only struggles of determined masses, including unemployed and employed workers can teach them that they will achieve lasting betterment of their situation only by overthrowing the existing capitalist regime.

Is there anyone in the C. I. who questions this elementary truth? Even the bureau for western Europe calls for "united revolutionary action of unemployed and employed workers".

Now we come to the point. The appeal for solidarity will never get the mass of employed workers into the streets beside the unemployed. And neither will this appeal for solidarity prevent the masses of desparate unemployed from countenencing wage reductions. The art of a revolutionary party consists, not in launching these appeals with an abundance of gigantic posters and noisy speeches, but in the act of concentrating the struggle on the questions which affect the self-interest of employed and unemployed workers equally. But this plainly goes beyond the limits of a schema valid for five continents, and it would be necessary for the different parties to adapt the struggle to the concrete circumstances of their own countries. The situation in Germany is special: there the party should direct all its action on the basis of the struggle against the Young plan; with which, as the central action, should be connected the struggle of employed workers against the financial, tariff and social policies of the government. The situation in Austria is again different: here the party should turn the struggle of the unemployed into a central action against fascism, for a proletarian program of immediate demands.

One thing only is valid in a general way for all countries: the struggle cannot be conducted in the manner imagined by the bureaucrats of the Stalin apparatus—by means of big displays and high-sounding articles and speeches.

Berlin, February 14.

K. L.

Φ

LABOR FAKERS ATTACK ALIEN WORKERS

DETROIT—(FP)—Over 1,600 aliens employed by the city of Detroit stand to lose their jobs by the mayor's approval of a resolution just passed by the council providing for the immediate dismissal of all employees not citizens of the United States. Those with first papers are also to be unconditionally fired.

Last week 748 laborers were fired because they had not yet become citizens. Most of the latest group to be fired are also manual workers, although a considerable percentage comes from the hospitals.

The resolution to fire was introduced by Councilman Ewald, president of the ted by Pres. F. X. Martel of the Detroit bricklayers' union and was actively support- Federation of Labor.

Φ

THE

MILITANT

is the only newspaper in the United States that regularly publishes the writing of L. D. Trotsky, Ch. Rakovsky and other leaders of the Left Opposition of the Communist movement based upon the teachings of Marx and Lenin. In addition it is the only periodical in the English language in any part of the world that prints the correct estimation of world events based upon a Leninist conception.

The **Militant** is the organ of those who want to reestablish the international Communist movemnet on the basis it was up till the death of Lenin. Published weekly, it is a powerful factor in mobilizing the working class along the correct ideological lines. Without its regular appearance the Left Opposition not only in America but throughout the world would sustain a severe loss.

In a recent letter, comrade Trotsky asserted that **La Verite** the weekly organ of the French Left Opposition and The **MILITANT** were the two best organs of the movement that is conducting a campaign for a return to Lenin's teachings. To enable The **Militant** to continue publication, the immediate support of all its readers is necessary. A donation to its Sustaining Fund will enable it to continue to exist.

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The New Course in Economy of Soviet Union

(Continued form Page 5)

The Restoration of the Right-Center Bloc

For how many months will the present leadership whip up the Party on the road of ultra-Leftism? We think not for very long. The more frenzied the character of the present course, the sooner and more acutely its contradictions will come out. Then to the former 180 degrees, the leadership will add another curve, coming near to its starting point from another end. So it has been, so it will be again.

The tempo of industrialization must guarantee not the building of national socialism, but the reinforcement of the basis under the proletarian dictatorship, as well as the improvement of the conditions of the working masses of city and country. This is an entirely realistic task. It demands a combination of courage and prudence. It excludes both over-caution and wild recklessness.

It would be absurd to pretend that the Opposition has ready **a priori** a plan for a painless way out of the new dangers created by a combination of adventurism and opportunism. Having the best directions for following the road with a line of motor-cars will not help, if the head of the line has already succeeded in getting off the road into the mud. Then a whole system of measures **ad hoc** is necessary to bring the column back on the right road. We can assert that even the best driver staying at the wheel, would not be able to solve the problem. The collective effort of the Party and the class are necessary, with help from below, which presupposes the right and the possibility of collective, creative initiative.

At present, this measure seems most immediate and imperious: **the strictest financial discipline.** It is absolutely necessary to tighten as strong as possible the strings of the state's purse, along both the budget and the credit lines. There is no doubt that this measure will prove painful from the start, as it will inevitably stop half-way a whole list of undertakings and enterprises. But this measure is unavoidable. Financial discipline must become the first step of a general economic discipline.

What To Do?

The problems briefly outlined in the present article will constitute the object of an extensive work which we hope to bring out in a few weeks. Therefore our treatment of the subject here is in the nature of a synopsis. In the same way we briefly answer the question: what to do?

The industry is racing towards a crisis, first of all on account of the monstrously bureaucratic methods used in the constuction of the Plan. A Five Year plan can be constructed with the necessary proportions and guaranties only on condition of a free discussion of its tempos and terms; only with the participation in these discussions by all interested industries and by the working class; with all its organizations and first of all of the Party itself; only with an evaluation of the whole experiment of the Soviet economy of the last period, including the monstrous faults of the leadership.

The most important element of the Plan is not a question of **what it is** that the peasants want and are able to consume immediately, but **what it is** that they can save and accumulate. The question of the tempo of industrialization is not a matter of bureaucratic imagination, but one of the life and culture of the masses.

Therefore the Plan for building socialism can not be issued as an **a priori** bureaucratic order. It must be worked out and corrected in the same way in which the construction of socialism itself can only be realized, i. e., through the broad Soviet democracy. The decision, for instance, of what place should be given to the chemical industry in the plan for the near future, can be established only through an open discussion between different economical groups and branches of industry interested in chemical products. The Soviet democracy is not an abstract political demand and still less a moral one. It has become an economic necessity.

Save the Party and the Proletarian Dictatorship

The first condition for the success of socialism is, for us to conserve, or what is more correct, to save the **Party.** Without this basic historical instrument the proletariat is powerless. In the meantime the Stalinist bureaucracy is killing the Party. To the wholesale collectivisation in the country, it adds the wholesale admittance to the Party of whole plants and guilds. The vanguard is disappearing in the mass. The thought and the will of the Party is crushed underfoot. The bureaucracy has its hands completely free. The leadership is blind and uncontrollable. The Party will not be able to create a far-seeing leadership until it becomes the Party again. What must be done, then? Take from the usurpers' apparatus the power which has been usurped from the Party. Who can do that? The proletarian nucleus of the Party, relying on the working class.

The second conditions is to conserve, or, what is more true, to restore the **proletarian dictatorship.** This is possible only in case the proletariat shows from year to year an improvement of its economic and cultural level, and the growth of its importance in the state and country, and if simultaneously the scissors of agricultural and industrial prices draw together, offering the peasants real advantages from the October revolution.

If the road to these swollen and insurmountable undertakings is not immediately barred, if the tempo is not brought back to reality, the overinflation might easily enlarge them in the future to a perilous size, with consequences from which not only the false reputation of the ignorant leadership will suffer, the reputation which is founded on moral inflation, but also the values of immeasurably greater importance—the October revolution.

Restore the Comintern

Again and again we decidedly refused the task of building "in quick time" a national socialist society. Collectivisation as well as industrialization we bind by an unbreakable tie with the problems of world revolution. The problems of our economy are decided in the last account in the international arena. It is necessary to restore the Comintern. It is necessary to go over the revolutionary strategy of the post-Leninist period and to condemn all three of its stages: Zinoviev's, Bucharin-Stalin's and Stalin-Molotov's stage. It is necessary to remove the present leadership, because it is precisely in the realm of international questions where the Stalinist faction reaches such limits of theoretical cynicism and practical licenses (**laissez-faire**) which are threatening the proletarian vanguard with numberless disasters. To refute the theory of national socialism and the practice of bureaucratic adventures, is the elementary premise for the renaissance of the Communist International.

Φ

NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

Albert Glotzer, member of the National Committee of the Communist League (Opposition) will speak at the Open Forum of the New York Branch of the League on Saturday, March 15th, 1930 at 8 p. m. His subject will be: "WHAT IS THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION?" Admission is free and all interested workers are invited to attend.

* * *

ALLENTOWN, Pa.—Four hundred workers of the Arcadia rayon mills of Allentown are out on strike under Natl. Textile Workers Union leadership, in protest against doubling up knitters' work from eight to sixteen machines.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION CHARTS LABOR DANGER ZONES

NEW YORK—(FP)—Black spots on the union organizers map as drawn by the American Civil Liberties Union include North Carolina textile towns, Pennsylvania coal and steel towns, Ohio mining towns and Southern California. North Carolina is worst of all, with seven killed, 24 wounded, seven kidnapped and seven condemned to prison in 1929, according to the Union's survey of civil liberties—or the lack of them—last year.

Strikers, Communists and Negroes suffered the most frequent violations of civil rights; Socialists and I. W. W.'s escaped prosecutions and injunctions, asserts the liberties report. Three Communists, sent to prison in Pennsylvania under the criminal syndicalism act, were the first political prisoners committed in the entire country since 1924.

Boston, Philadelphia and New York are listed as the cities in which police most frequently interfere with public meetings. Boston remains the hub of censorship, Pennsylvania leads in the number of attacks on free speech press and assemblage while New York City police broke up 43 of the 52 meetings interfered with in 1929.

Φ

HOSIERY SCABS KILL STRIKER, WOUND TWO

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Carl Mackley, 22, was killed and William Zimmerman and John Cooper wounded when a carload of Aberle hosiery mill strikebreakers fired a volley into a union auto which grazed theirs in traffic. The three men shot are union knitters, members of the Hosiery Workers Union. They carried no weapons.

Four scabs arrested with smoking automatics admitted firing into the union car and regret missing the fourth occupant who escaped unhurt. They are held without bail. Eight unionists were held as material witnesses and released under $1,000 bail each.

Although no scab in the Aberle mill has been shot or seriously injured in the hosiery workers' strike, they have threatened gunplay from the start. An Aberle official drew a gun on a striker 15 minutes after the tragedy.

Labor in Philadelphia lays the responsibility for the murder on Judge Jay Gordon who ruled in the court of common pleas two weeks ago that scabs may carry guns if they feel that their lives are endangered.

Φ

OPEN SHOP PAPER APPROVES A.F. OF L.

NEW YORK—The American Federation of Labor's policy of cooperating with employers is bearing fruit in unexpected quarters. The **Iron Age,** trade paper of the open shop steel industry, in the course of a diatribe against progressivism in general, comments: "The American Federation of Labor will agree that there is no contest between toilers and capitalists."

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ELLA MAY LYNCHING O. K.'D

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—(FP)—North Carolina's unwritten law that union agitators go to the penitentiary while lynchers of unionists go home has been upheld once more in the freeing of five of the members of the Loray mill mob who were in the murder of Ella May Wiggins, the Bessemer City union woman shot to death Sept. 14 while on the way to a Nat'l. Textile Workers Union meeting in Gastonia.

Well-drilled witnesses marshalled by the Loray defense counsel testified monotonously to fake alibis; those at the scene of the murder where the union truck was surrounded by a score or more of autos filled with mobsters recited stories of "happening" to be passing by and stopping to see an auto accident.

The jury ignored evidence from a score of occupants of the union truck that they were surrounded by a mob which opened fire on the open highway. A shot from Horace Wheelus' gun found its way to Ella May's heart they testified, while other workers were fleeing across the open fields, followed by a rain of bullets.

The prosecution was crippled from the start by the unwillingness of Solicitor John C. Carpenter of Gaston county to prosecute his friends the Loray mill bossmen. A corps of Loray attorneys conducted the defense.

North Carolina's record of "justice" in labor disputes shows seven organizers condemned to prison for terms of 5 to 20 year for defending the Loray mill strikers' tent colony from an unwarranted attack by drunken police, during which Police Chief Aderholt was killed. Mobs composed of Gastonia business men carried on a reign of terror, which resulted in a few indictments for kidnapping and flogging, but no convictions. On the other hand many strikers were framed on various counts and sentenced to jail.

The verdict in the Wiggins case practically sets the state's seal of approval on murder and other violence against union organizers.

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CHICAGO, ILL., Cheshinsky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division St.; Horsley's Book Store, 1623 W Madison St.; Walden Bookstore, 311 Plymouth Ct.; Britscke's Store, 1611 N. Kedzie and on various newstands
SPRINGFIELD, ILL.: Joe Angelo, 431 No. Wesley St.
BOSTON, Mass.: Shapiro's, 7 Beach St near Washington,: Andelman's 284 Tremont St., Newsstand, 38 Causeway St.
ROXBURY, MASS., Goldberg's Store, 536 Warren St.
DETROT, MICH.: Aidas Book Shop, 1713-24th St.; and on various newsstands.
MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.: Engelson News Co., 234-2nd Ave. So.
KANSAS CITY, MO.: Buehler's Book Store, 220 West 12th St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Foster's Book Store, 410 Washington Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.: Newstands at 19th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 15th and Market, S. E. Cor.; 13th and Market, N. W. cor.; Warwicks News Depot, 262 S. 11th St.; 11th and Market, N. W. cor.; 5th and Market, S. W.cor.; 5th and Pine Sts., N. E. cor.; 9th and Locust Sts., N. E. cor.
NEWARK, N. J.: Alter's Stand; 58 Prince St
SEATTLE, WASH.: Raymer's Old Book Store, 905 Third Ave.
TACOMA, Wash.: Raymer's 1317 Pacific St. St.
TORONTO, ONT., CANADA: On various newsstands.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: On various newsstands in New York and Brooklyn; Biederman Bookstore, 2d Ave and 12th St.; Rand [illegible]kstore, 7 East 15th St.; The Militant, 25 Third Ave.
CALGARY, ALTA., CANADA: Boston News Co., 109-8th Ave. West